June 1957

Fellowship

BYRON JOHNSON *Politico*

30¢

An Appeal to Mankind

by Albert Schweitzer

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FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

The WORLD in FOCUS

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Out-of-Order

Harry Golden, editor of *The Carolina Israelite,* has come up with two plans for achieving desegregation without pain. The first was the Golden Vertical Negro Plan, which he admits has been something of a failure since no school board has agreed to try it ("take the seats out of the classrooms, and let the kids stand, since no one pays the slightest attention to a vertical Negro.")

His new scheme is the Golden "Out-of-Order" Plan. Let him tell it:

> "I prevailed upon the manager of a department store [in North Carolina] to shut the water off in his 'white' water fountain and put up a sign, 'Out-of-Order.' For the first day or two the 'whites' were hesitant, but little by little they began to drink out of the water fountain belonging to the 'coloreds'—and by the end of the third week everybody was drinking the 'segregated' water; with not a single, solitary complaint to date.
>
> "I believe the test is of such sociological significance that the Governor should appoint a special committee of two members of the House and two Senators to investigate the *Golden 'Out-of-Order' Plan.* We kept daily reports on the use of the unsegregated water fountain which should be of great value to this committee. This may be the answer to the necessary uplifting of the 'white' morale. It is possible that the 'whites' may accept desegregation if they are assured that the segregated facilities still exist, albeit 'Out-of-Order.' "

Plug-I

The disappearance of the genuinely independent journal—independent of the social and economic pressures that make even nominally "independent" publications all sound alike—is one of the more depressing offshoots of the mass society we live in. For

that reason, we take delight in urging everybody who doesn't already get it—and there must be quite a number—to get *The Carolina Israelite* on their subscription list right away. You can reach Mr. Golden at Box 2505, Charlotte, N. C.

P.S.: When you write, be sure to get a copy of the Golden interview with Carl Sandburg. It will be a long while before you read a better.

Plug-II

P. D. East, who keeps publishing another incredible little newspaper in Petal, Mississippi (see FELLOWSHIP, Nov. 1956), has published a compilation of a number of his anti-segregationist editorials and advertisements.[1] It's very much worth getting, as is a subscription to *The Petal Paper* itself.

Safe

One of our numerous spies sent us a brochure from the Cambridge (Mass.) Trust Company that, he says, brought a great deal of reassurance to him and other Cambridge folks. It seems that the company's vault is not only one of the strongest in the state, but that it may even be strong enough to withstand atomic attack. However, since "damage in the vicinity . . . might delay entrance to the vaults," the bank has also reproduced basic bank records on microfilm to be stored at "some distance from Cambridge."

Our correspondent claims that people are flocking into the Cambridge Trust, and that they have set up a committee to urge on the company the one remaining step that would complete their feeling of security: the microfilming of the depositors themselves for storage in a safe place.

Aid

People who believe that the road to peace could be made smoother if the world's wealthiest nation were to share in a big way the job of eradicating poverty, disease and ignorance around the world, frequently get brought up short with a recitation of

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[1] Reprints from The Petal Paper, published by P. D. East, Petal, Miss., 1957. 36 pp., paper, 50¢.

the billions of dollars this country already has "sent abroad." Indeed, a movement of formidable strength is developing that argues that we have sent too much aid already, that the recipients are not sufficiently "grateful," and that we ought to "keep our money at home."

The answer, of course, is that ever since World War II the overwhelming bulk of the "aid" sent abroad has been for military ends, controlled by the Pentagon, and justified as being essential to our own "defense." Of the total of $3.8 billion spent this year for foreign aid under the Mutual Security Program, for example, 84 percent was for military grants of one sort or another. It works out like this:

Direct military assistance	$2,000,000,000
Military support programs	1,200,000,000
Nonmilitary aid	600,000,000

Of the last amount, slightly more than $100 million goes to refugee relief and other miscellaneous activities that are emergency humanitarian measures—not long-term assistance.

Point IV gets only about $135 million and economic development $250 million, sizable amounts in themselves but not to be confused with sums adequate to make a real dent in the world's acute need.

Even these nonmilitary items are nonmilitary only in a technical sense, since for the most part they are allocated on the basis of political considerations. Thus, of the economic aid sent to Asia, more than three-fourths goes to Formosa, South Korea and South Vietnam, tiny countries where our political struggle with communism is obvious, and less than 10 percent to vast India.

The multiplied billions this country has sent abroad have been discerned by the people of the recipient countries quite rightly as being in "our" own interest. Quite reasonably they breed more resentment than gratitude. Compassion cannot be combined with military airstrips, and what the pacifist asks for is compassion.

Moderation

We don't know what we'd do without the occasional words of encouragement that come from unexpected sources. Take, for

instance, the release that came from the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense in connection with Armed Forces Day last month. Like the Dilworth Committee report last spring, it demonstrated that we pacifists just don't know our own strength!

You probably think that militarism has been taking over in this country and that pacifism is barely holding its own among a tiny minority. Not the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Down there they worry about *both* militarism and pacifism.

"Either of these extremes," says a release on the "religious background" of Armed Forces Day, "is heretical and throws into imbalance God's good government of the world, inflicting injury upon both individuals and peoples and making it hard for history to get back on an even keel." The release prays that our leaders may have the grace of clear vision and wise moderation in this matter.

Suggestions for achieving this moderation were: (1) emphasis on the theme of "power for peace" in religious services throughout the country, (2) wide use of the Armed Forces Day Prayer written by the Chief Chaplain, (3) "that in clubs and school meetings, assemblies and classes, thought be given both to what we owe to America's armed strength and to the spiritual insight we must find and maintain. . . ."

As speakers, the release suggested getting "qualified military personnel," chaplains, or civic leaders qualified to talk about the "power for peace" theme. For special speakers, applications might be made to the Armed Forces Day Area Commander (all of whom, in case you were wondering, are military officers).

It's nice to know that pacifism is so serious a threat as to require that kind of program just to achieve moderation.

WAR WORDS AND TIRED SYMBOLS

BY RICHARD M. McCONNELL

WAR WORDS and other closely related tired symbols will pepper this paper. In other contexts they appear most frequently in the day-to-day language of the business world, particularly in the language of those engaged in advertising and sales. Before I advance any sort of thesis, let us glance at some of these tired symbols. Let us, so to speak, *marshal the facts* and *review the troops.*

Now what do we do when we begin a *sales campaign?* Why, we *scout competition,* of course. *We get the lay of the land.* Then we *take to the field* to start *battering down sales resistance.* We next plan a *barrage* of ads designed to clear away a *smokescreen* our rivals have laid down. Our advertising, of course, will make use of *broadsides* and other *sales ammunition* prepared by our *lieutenants,* our young advertising executives. Competition, knowing full well that *forewarned is forearmed,* have taken to a tricky *defensive strategy* and are busily *slashing prices* from coast to coast in a *last-ditch stand* to *spearhead a drive* into our sales territories. But their efforts will not prevail in the face of the *bombshell* we are going to unleash on our consumer *target.* No sir! Our sales *force* knows its stuff. It is bound to be a *clean sweep,* a resounding *victory* for good old Acme Glass Tube Bending Company (not incorporated).

Perhaps you anticipate. And surely there is no need to multiply examples. Perhaps you are already prepared to *shoot my argument full of holes* by an attack from a different direction. I hope, though, to give my ideas a *keen edge.* You see, there is nothing of the *New Yorker's* Mr. Arbuthnot (The Cliché Expert) here. These are all familiar, everyday examples of war words. And it may not be *out of line,* or even *out of step,* to say that most of us would find it difficult to speak colloquially without employing war words at one time or another.

Why do we have so very many war words in circulation? What is their value? What do they accom-

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plish for us, or what do they do to us? Look at war words for a moment. Ask yourself: which war? The recent Korean "police action"? World War I? World War II? War of the Roses? Trojan? Some historically more remote carnage? Most war words have a distinctly pre-gunpowder aroma which, we recall, pre-dates atom powder. No, I am not going to stop off after work tonight for a beer. I am going

home *straight as an arrow*. And though I am not married, I have heard many a wife find *chinks in the armor* of her husband's alibis when he arrived tardy and tiddly. You know, the old *battle of the sexes*.

So, who is at war?

From Earlier Times

When I first asked myself this question I was hardly less certain about the truth of the answer than I am now. But here it is, for whatever it may be worth. The bulk of so-called war words deals with forms of warfare long separated from us either by time, technology, or both. They reflect a world where man's battles were more often "hand-to-hand" than they are now, a world where many people still struggled actively with the physical environment surrounding them—a world where a living had to be "wrenched" from the soil and where death was no further away than a sword could be thrust, an arrow could fly, or a javelin be thrown. Muscles must have given a happy advantage to those pre-vitamin-packed men who possessed them. In a very real sense they were "at war" with nature and with other men.

We know this. But what we don't know is why the modern business world of the United States$_{1955}$ should still be using phrases and words expressive of situations that existed in 1455 and which no longer exist. I believe that it is far too simple an explanation to say that we can't teach old dogs new tricks so why not relax and enjoy ourselves. With H-Bombs, super H-Bombs, and super-duper H-bombs in "stockpiles" here and there, who can relax? It's the kind of situation bad novels and soap operas refer to as "explosive"—but more so. Who wants to see the H-Bomb business booming? Simple stasis is no answer. War words do not necessarily "cause" wars either. Yet it is time we thought less about finding a single "cause" and started hunting for what might be some of the contributing factors to war.

In using sales terminology as one source for my examples I do not intentionally pick on business, advertising, or the esteemed ghost of Willie Loman. But, as someone has remarked, "the main business of business is business." And as it seems we are oriented to a business society, and since the majority of people are "in" business, or at least work for a business, then business itself may serve us as a point of departure.

Some rascal stole my stiletto and used it for a plough. Yes he did. Came the flaunted "Industrial Revolution" and did all kinds of nasty tricks. Thereby putting the Borgias out of business. Thereby

bringing "untold" riches to man—steam power, the flying jenny, Henry's reliable assembly line. No more cottage culture, no more simple, isolated wars where *to get the point* was something quite different from what it is today. These flopped. In their places came vast urban culture, two chickens in every garage and a genuine Ford axle in every pothole. Came the eight-hour day, the finance company (after old Italian masters), the flivver, the radio, TV, and the atom. What does not appear to have come along is a comparable linguistic-semantic change.

Today our businessmen and advertising tyros still use words and phrases appropriate to bygone eras and bygone problems. Nature and the furrow no longer confront us as hand-to-hand combatants. No longer do we *wrench* our existence from the soil—we pour it from cans and take it in tablets, and even the poorest may sometimes save his pennies to buy reducing aids. Things have changed. And though it may in some way help a salesman to see another company as "competition," as out to get his skin, as an opposing sales force, this may still be an inaccurate map of the territory in which he is to move. Too, it may disadvantage and distort the mapmaking activities of still others to whom his communications are important. Likewise, if a parent or teacher passes his unconscious assumptions to a child or pupil, he may have done disservice to the next generation. Any such disservice today may well take the form of tomorrow's first—and probably last—atomic war.

Here is the proverbial rub. Although our choice and perpetuation of such war words may not be crucially causative of nor even importantly contributive to wars, hot or cold, their use may be an index, a symptom, of an unhealthy frame of mind or societal self-concept.

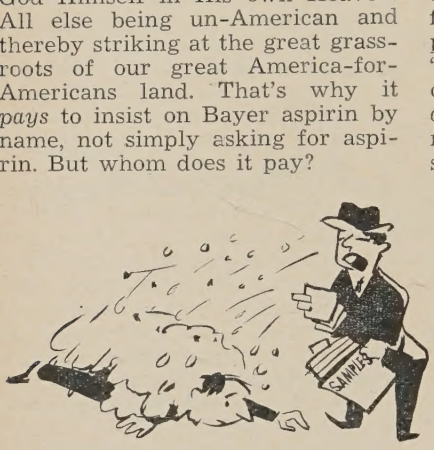
Free-Enterprise Monopolies

There are other words than war words—closely related and equally fatigued. *Free enterprise* and *healthy competition,* for example. We've all heard and read these words hundreds of times. No daily newspaper's editorial page would be complete without them, nor would any large company's "institutional" advertisements. They're the backbone of high school and junior college debate teams. They serve to define greatness and treachery alike. They mean all things to all men (and women). But what do they "really" mean? What do they really mean in relation to the war words so often used to explain them?

COMPETITION is a nice word. It's like mother and home, blueberry pie, booing the Dodgers, and Saturday night—all rolled into one. Best of all, just like the best things in life, it's FREE. Anyone can use it. It's always open season on FREE-COMPETITION-ENTERPRISE. Advertising agencies prefer it two-to-one and ninety-nine times out of a hundred. Ask the "fair" traders. Ask the oldest chairman-of-the-board of any interlocking directorate of monopolies in the country. Ask any captive audience battered into paying for any economy-size tube of Zoomo Toothpaste.

Everyone's special interest has a million rationalizations for considering their own extra special situation as a veritable bulwark against the forces "opposed to" free-enterprise and competition *à la* Adam Smith. Almost every recent

issue of the magazine *Advertising Age* has carried one or more articles in which Fair Traders do mental gymnastics attempting to prove that their brand of price monopoly will save the country, the world, and in addition fortify God Himself in His own Heaven. All else being un-American and thereby striking at the great grass-roots of our great America-for-Americans land. That's why it *pays* to insist on Bayer aspirin by name, not simply asking for aspirin. But whom does it pay?



While ample lip service is being given to "competition" and "free enterprise," the face of reality is changing rapidly. It may have already passed through the most significant of its recent changes. Competition is giving way to fair trade. Tough-skinned old-line companies are instituting pension and profit-sharing plans for their employees. Surveys made by personnel experts for the slick business magazines repeat and repeat the truism that employees have other motives than salary for preferring one place of work over another. Executives and drones alike are exposed to the same books, the same movies, the same newspapers, and the same television shows. Educational levels are rising—and not everyone can be bossman—so there are more and more people at "low" industrial and business levels who have more education than their predecessors.

If anything at all, it would seem that American business is becoming more socialistic—NECESSARILY.

But the same tired symbols persist and persist. They are used to describe situations which no longer fit the territories whose maps they pretend to be. You don't really "fire" anyone in business any longer, or at least you don't say so if anyone asks. You simply say that Joe is no longer with us or that Sam resigned over a month ago. You call everyone by his first name and remember that a winning smile and a pair of shiny shoes are all part of the success pattern according to St. Carnegie.

Still battling the elements and a ferocious Mother Nature, we refer to *landslide* political *victories,* speeches full of *hot air,* being *snowed under* with the work of salesmen who *leave us cold.* Like war words, these are weary symbols of a struggle definitely gone, but unfortunately not forgotten. And all the while we are adding to our devastating stockpile of unrealities and at the same time we are adding to the big H-pile.

To the mythical man-in-the-street, who cares extraordinarily little about content and a great deal about vocabulary, these semantic considerations must appear to be the merest form of trash. Idle speculation. Longhair drool. As long as there are movies, TV programs, magazines, a surfeit of advertising enthusiasm, Mr. T. C. Mits has little concern about tomorrow—and, I suspect, about today. Not that he *can't* care. Just that he has no reason to care. Competition is "good," as any damnfool knows; and so, for that matter, is every other tired and timeworn symbol

he carries in his pack to oblivion. Reality is a "relative" matter because there's some bushy-headed foreigner named Einstein who wrote a book called "Relativity." I think. But I'm entitled to my opinion. It's a free country.

Herbert Marshall McLuhan, in his book, *The Mechanical Bride* (New York: Vanguard, 1951), says: ". . . it is scarcely fantastic to say that a great modern business is a secular adaptation of some of the most striking features of medieval scholastic culture." And further on: "The secularizing of this system has meant that adaptation of techniques not for knowledge but for use."

Civilians in Uniform

I think there is little to dispute on the face of that statement. But how about its implications? Are not a great number of tired symbols drawn from medieval forms of warfare? Do we not have hundreds of thousands of people dressed in uniforms outside of our military services as well as in them? Think of all the attendants, waiters, doormen, police and firemen, sports players, and the rest whose business dress is a uniform of one sort or another. Even the "typical" young advertising man dons his uniform before going to the office each morning—Brooks Brothers grey suit, Brooks Brothers "sincere" knitted tie, Brooksweave shirt and narrow-brimmed, high-crowned Brooks Brothers hat.

When, in many companies, a man has finished five, ten, or fifteen years of "loyal, faithful service to this great organization," he is given a pin, charm, or gold pocket watch to commemorate his length of duty. Army men, of course, are given service stripes for re-enlisting. And in the executive suite of the vice-president in charge of sales there is a huge map of sales territories, with colored pins denoting salesmen, customers, competition, etc. Army generals for hundreds of years have had recourse, likewise, to strategic maps to help them plan their campaigns.

All other considerations aside for the moment, a country can be no more free than the limits placed upon its freedom by static, unrealistic symbols. There may be much to say for organizing a large corporation along military lines. But there are also destructive, noncooperative elements at work in following such a process of organization. Our companies will not be content to say that they make good products and price them fairly. No. Now a company must advertise itself as a long-time "leader" in this or that field. Does this mean that it is "ahead" of everyone else? Or does it mean "leader" in the *power* sense of that word? Maybe we should not worry about it. But Walter Lippmann has ventured to say: "The way in which the world is imagined determines at any particular moment what men will do." We do imagine with the aid of symbols—they have "imaginal meanings" in addition to their other kinds of meaning. And are we not taking a chance in this atomic age if we persist in viewing present reality with the images of a reality now long dead?

Notice, too, that in McLuhan's statement, above, he refers to the "adaptation of techniques not for knowledge but for use." Does this not reflect the pervasive attitude of modern business that "nothing succeeds like success" and that "if something works it must be good"? Such old saws mirror nothing more

than a gross and growing irresponsibility on the part of those whose positions require an obligation to take responsibilities seriously. Sure, our present symbolic - linguistic techniques "work." They beget Ford cars, television sets, and canned foods. They also beget bigger bombs and bigger wars. They work to produce and they work to consume.

The Production-Consumption Ratrace

If "FREEDOM" is a hollow catch-all because we are confusing our outdated maps with the territories they are presumed to represent, another matter for serious attention looms in the twin fetish of consumption = production : = : production = consumption. Each day several million dollars are spent by big advertisers alone in a determined effort to send us scampering to the nearest grocer, druggist, or mortician. The tired symbols bloom like Coke bottles on a torrid day in a southern town. The tired symbols say "BUY!" They mean it. Other tired symbols say "PRODUCE!" They, too, mean it. Without production, who can consume? And without consumption, who is going to produce? Few ask whether or not endless production-consumption is an entirely desirable thing in itself. Might it not be an endless and really rather vicious circle—this business of produce-more-in-order-to-consume-more? It is, of course, a "cooperative" process. We cooperate to give ourselves more goods to consume. But if there is no clear justification of boundless consumption, then all the symbols clinging to this quasi-sacred cycle of production-consumption are no less tired than their war-word brothers-at-arms.

Also dangerous is the segmentation of social levels and the classification of countries into "haves" and "have-nots." How much cooperation is there in "protective" tariffs, "fair trade" laws, or the smug way of thinking that goes: "Them that has gits"? Tired symbols used to conceptualize reality$_{1955}$ may lead us down the primrose and mushroom path to spectacular destruction. Our national self-concept may be in need of overhaul. The nation produces plenty of production and consumes plenty of consumption. So? Maybe we had best start asking.

That about sums it up. War words are one species of tired symbols. Other symbols are a dime a dozen, alas. Our entire ultra-communication culture is *shot through and through* with them. We are entering a new scientific age equipped with Ptolemaic terms. If the world and its population are eventually flattened, we will all be a bit too late to thank our poor conceptual equipment for the mess. If we try to appraise our feelings toward the H-bomb by appeal to how the cave men "must" have felt toward the first bow-and-arrow, we are doomed. The answers lie not in splitting hairs over the definitions of terms nor in the restoration to language of a supposedly lost "semantic purity." But we could attempt to find out where and why a genuinely cooperative function of humanity is being viewed, imagined, as a warlike, competitive one, and so perpetuating a *charged*, inflammable situation. Is it not the task of general semantics and those who are engaged in its study to help in whatever way they can to dispel the fog of tired symbols and war words with which we have beclouded our rational processes?

NONVIOLENCE AT MIDCENTURY

BY RICHARD B. GREGG

THERE is a political maxim that you cannot permanently govern large numbers of literate people merely by violence or by deceit or both. Despite the events of the last fifty years, this maxim still stands. Mussolini and Hitler each lasted less than a generation. After forty years of violence against its own people the Soviet Government is having to reduce its own use of violence. As Buddha said, "Anger is like spitting against the wind; it always blows back on you." The recent events in Hungary must be qualified by those in East Germany and Poland, and the drama is not yet finished. Mankind learns very, very slowly, but it learns.

War has become increasingly expensive in money, in loss of life and property, in destruction of public and private morality, in destruction of the bonds of society, in effacing the best minds of young men of the nations who take part. And finally, with the invention of the hydrogen bomb, the price of large-scale war would be the destruction of the entire human race, including those who initiate it. This the war-like leaders know. Because of the close integration of the modern world, little wars can no longer be kept little. Too many small weak nations contain petroleum or minerals, chromium for example, essential to modern industrialism and therefore attractive to the powerful industrialized nations. If one big industrialized nation attacks such a little nation, other big nations are apt to oppose and then there would easily be a big war.

This article is an adaptation of the preface Richard B. Gregg wrote for a new Italian edition of his book **The Power of Nonviolence.** The book, first published in 1934, has become a classic in its field and has gone through several editions, the most recent of which was revised in 1944. Mr. Gregg is also the author of the recently published **The Self Beyond Yourself.**

The obstinate ruling groups who still think that they can employ little wars to gain their ends are revealing that, because of the slaughter of their best young minds, they no longer possess sufficient intelligence or foresight to govern successfully large groups of people. The debacle of the Suez affair seems to point to that conclusion. Peace is no longer merely desirable; it is necessary for the existence of the human race.

The Decade Since Gandhi

In 1947, after twenty-six years of struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, India won her independence by the use of nonviolent resistance. For the first time in the history of the world, a great empire thus voluntarily yielded up its power over a large nation previously subject to it both politically and economically. The British Empire was far more wealthy and powerful in all ways than any previous empire had been. Yet it bowed to the appeal to the better nature of its rulers. You may say that Britain yielded then not because Gandhi's method had such power but because the Second World War had so weakened her that she no longer had troops to hold India down. But the troops of her Empire had been predominantly Indian troops, and Gandhi and his method had so unified all Indian groups in favor of freedom that the loyalty of Indian troops and police was so disturbed that they could no longer be trusted to hold India down for British benefit.

The event was historically unique not only in its occurrence and manner but also because, after it was over, there was no residual bitterness between parties, but only good feeling and friendliness. That was the result of the method used in the contest. The method of nonviolent resistance called forth the best in both parties. The real victory lay in this issuance of the better natures of both British and Indians. During and because of the nature of the struggle, both sides increased their moral stature. All this constitutes a great historical fact.

And now in 1957, only nine years after the death of Mahatma Gandhi, political freedom from Britain has been achieved in the new state of Ghana in Africa, again because, in part at least, its leader, Kwame Nkrumah, deliberately used the method of nonviolent resistance. Thus again the method demonstrates its power. A few thousand Negroes in the United States are beginning with some success to use this method in their struggle against social and economic injustice.

It would seem that a period of great suffering and insecurity makes the minds and hearts and consciences of men more sensitive. If this be true, it helps to explain the swift and universal reaction against the recent invasion of Egypt by British and French troops in the Suez affair. Then the power of moral law, through the channel of the United Nations, asserted itself more vigorously than it had for many years. Granted that economic sanctions and fear of Russia also played a part, nevertheless the conscience of the world stirred and made itself felt with power.

At the moment of this writing its power has not yet proved effective in Hungary. But social and political processes work far more rapidly now than fifty years ago. The readers of this will, I believe, live to

see the power of moral law more clearly demonstrated.

Two world wars have clearly shown the futility and folly of modern war, and have shown that its formal victories settle no problems and are wholly empty and valueless. And now the advent of the hydrogen bomb has made large-scale war utterly disastrous not only to the contestants but to the whole human race. Peace now is not merely desirable; it is imperatively necessary for the existence of every person.

The leaders of some nations may still think they can wage little wars and thereby get what they want. But the Suez affair has raised strong doubts about this. The peoples of every country are profoundly reluctant to be led into war. They rightly doubt whether the size of any war can be limited. The interests of the nations are now too closely interwoven to permit such limitation. So many materials for which the big industrial nations are greedy are found in the weak little nations. A sudden grab by one big nation would start a quarrel with another big nation.

Nevertheless, conflicts have not vanished and will not vanish, and selfishness and desire for power are still found in the governments and mankind at large. So some new way of settling conflicts must be found. That way is nonviolent resistance or what Gandhi named Satyagraha. It is for the common people who seek justice and truth to teach that way to their leaders and statesmen.

Looking to the Fundamentals

An American engineer recently sent to Afghanistan to plan ultramodern airports came back saying: Those people aren't ready for airports and electronic equipment. They need to be shown the fundamentals of decent living, they want to learn to read and write, to build carts and make roads leading to markets for the things they make, they need to be shown how to eat better food and keep away disease. Nobody listened and **five airports** are already under construction in Afghanistan, costing nearly $15 million and scores of American technicians will have to be stationed there to guard and operate the fields and the machines, while the native populations will continue to taste the bitterness of their frustrated dreams.

All this damages more than our foreign relations; it is gradually stifling one of the most precious characteristics of the American people: the warm desire to give and to share for the sake of giving and sharing. The strength and the courage to shield this priceless instinct from the assaults of bureaucrats, politicans and headline seekers can only come from within ourselves.

We are being made to believe that "what's good for U.S. production is good for foreign consumption" even though the evidence is there to disprove it. But last week, the voice of churchmen was raised strongly in public protest against cuts in foreign aid and in exhortation that the American people demand to see these programs be at last vitalized by an "unselfish desire to help others to help themselves."

—Lisa Sergio
in her column, WINDOW ON THE WORLD,
World Around Press, April 11, 1957

. . . . . A LETTER TO . . .

Mr. Hoover

BY A. J. MUSTE

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Chief, Federal Bureau of
Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

THE NEW YORK *Post* of March 20, 1957, reported that you had put into the record of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee a document bearing the label: "United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation." The document contained the following statement referring to the undersigned in connection with the convention of the Communist Party held in February:

"The Communists boasted of having 'impartial observers' cover the convention. However, most of these so-called 'impartial' observers were handpicked before the conventioned started and were reportedly headed by A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists and who recently circulated an amnesty petition calling for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. Muste's report on the convention was as biased as could be expected. On the other hand, an observer whom the party did not handpick and who was more objective, Carl Rachlin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, has stated that the arguments for democracy within the Party were 'merely tactical and designed to fool the public.'"

So far as the record at my disposal goes, your allegation that I have "long fronted for Communists" is based on two comparatively very recent happenings: 1) my participation as an "observer" at the Communist Party convention in February and my activity in getting others to serve in a similar capacity; 2) the fact that I helped to circulate a petition which was sent to President Eisenhower at Christmastime 1955 and which asked for amnesty for Communists convicted under the Smith Act and a suspension of prosecution in the case of others accused under the Smith Act, pending a review of the latter

which the Supreme Court of the United States was then preparing to make. I shall refer to both these matters in a moment. First, I wish to refer to my attitudes and activities in this field prior to December 1955, which in your opinion appear to furnish a basis for characterizing me publicly as one who "has long fronted for Communists."

Anti-United Front Record

You have not only attached a label to me for which there is no basis but one which is directly and completely contrary to the record of the past twenty years and more. After several years of service as Director of the Presbyterian Labor Temple, New York, I became National Secretary of the Christian pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1940. I served in that capacity until reaching retirement age in September 1953. Since then I have continued active as Secretary Emeritus.

Not only was I not connected with any Communist fronts during all these years but I took a leading part as the executive of the F.O.R. in analyzing and exposing the dangerous and fraudulent character of "united fronts" and in persuading the F.O.R. groups both here and in other countries not to take part in such activities as the World Council of Peace and its affiliated groups, the Stockholm Peace Petition, etc. What criticism there has been in pacifist and other peace groups during those years was to the effect that I was too "rigid" and perhaps "unreconciling" about such matters.

The F.O.R. at the same time has stoutly defended the civil liberties of Communists as well as all others, and of course with my hearty approval. From the beginning, the National Council of the F.O.R. has opposed the Smith Act and prosecutions under it as violating American traditions and as the wrong and ineffective way to combat the evils of Communism.

When the F.O.R. or I personally have acted in this field of civil liberties, however—as in a Rosenberg petition a few years ago and the Smith Act Amnesty petition—we have scrupulously avoided acting through or with organizations or committees that might be suspected as "fronts," but have acted independently, making it clear in each case that we were opposed to Communism and were defending the rights of those with whom we disagreed, not of those with whom we agreed or were collaborating.

You have made a grave charge against me and my record. You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that your word in such matters as this carries more weight probably than that of any other person in our country. I respectfully submit that you should immediately take out of the record the allegation that I have "long fronted for Communists."

Observers at C. P. Convention

I turn now to the question of "impartial observers" at the C.P. Convention. I am informed by Norman Thomas, who, as he told you, was associated with me in approaching people to act as observers, that, according to Mr. Nichols of your staff, the basis for the F.B.I. thinking that we were acting as a front in this matter is that the suggestion that there be "observers" came from Mr. Simon W. Gerson, who was in charge of publicity at the C.P. convention. Mr. Thomas, in his letter to you, has disposed of the charge that if the idea did

originate with Mr. Gerson this made a "fronter" of anyone who considered that the idea had merit.

However, the fact of the matter is that the idea did not originate with Mr. Gerson or any other Communist. It was first mentioned by one of my fellow-pacifists in my own room. It was tentatively mentioned to a couple of C. P. leaders as an idea they might explore with their colleagues. I undertook at the same time to discuss the idea with well-known civil libertarians such as Norman Thomas and Roger N. Baldwin in order to check on the validity of the idea. Finding that the idea seemed meritorious, we proceeded.

If the idea that Mr. Gerson originated the project was reported to you as a fact by one of your agents or another person, the report—whether by design or unintentional error—was false. If the idea that Mr. Gerson was the originator was an inference it was completely erroneous.

The conditions on which persons were asked if they wished to sit in as "observers" were the following: 1) observers should be persons known as opponents of Communism and as not identified with "united fronts"; 2) they should also have some record of concern for the civil liberties of minority groups; 3) there was to be no veto by the C. P. of anyone asked to be an observer; 4) observers were not in effect to serve as reporters during the convention, since unfortunately reporters were not admitted to the sessions; but after the convention all observers were to be completely free, jointly or individually, to make any kind of reports, write any evaluations they saw fit, etc., with no censorship whatever.

The allegation in your statement to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that some observers were "handpicked" in a sense in which others such as Mr. Rachlin were not, is completely contrary to fact. All persons were approached by Mr. Thomas or myself directly or through an intermediary. (It should be put in the record that a number of persons who were approached, who thought it a good idea, and wished to participate, declined to do so because they feared there might be precisely the kind of comment which you have in fact made and they did not wish to expose the institutions with which they were connected to the embarrassment which this causes in the atmosphere which still too largely prevails in this country and which it is presumably the duty of the Department of Justice to combat. If the Department is not in fact charged with the defense of the Constitution and in particular the Bill of Rights, what is its function?)

Differences of Opinion

Among those who were contacted in the matter was Mr. George Rundquist of the New York Civil Liberties Union. He indicated to me that he was looking for two or three board members of the NYCLU to act as "observers" and a day or two before the Convention reported to me that Mr. Carl Rachlin and Mr. Migdol were prepared to serve. Mr. Rachlin and Mr. Migdol received invitations by wire from the National Committee of the Communist Party, to whom I gave their names and addresses in precisely the same way as anyone else who indicated readiness to participate in the project.

Your statement about the difference between Mr. Rachlin's evaluation of the Convention and that

of the eight observers, including myself, who issued a joint statement *after* Mr. Rachlin's appearance before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, is very vague. I cannot but think that on second thought you will agree with me that important government officials, if they speak on such matters at all, should seek to be specific and scrupulously accurate. Your statement gives the impression that the eight vouched for it that the Communist Party had become democratic. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Statement of Eight Observers, which you may well not have seen before you wrote your statement. You will note that we report that the sessions we attended were democratically conducted and we cited illustrations. We did also express the view that the conflict within the Party could not be dismissed—to use Mr. Rachlin's terminology—as "merely tactical and designed to fool the public." I may parenthetically record my personal opinion that, in view of what has happened in recent months in the Communist movement in Poland, Hungary, Russia itself, and for that matter in the Communist ranks in the United States, for anyone on serious reflection to regard all this as an elaborately contrived stage play he must be entirely incapable of judging political developments or must be engaged in a calculated attempt to create a distorted impression.

However, the eight observers specifically stated that they suspended judgment as to whether the CPUSA had achieved independence of Moscow and was moving toward democratic socialism. We stated that in view of the very admissions made by the Convention as to past crimes and errors, only the actual behavior of Communists and the Communist Party could furnish a basis for judging what was really happening.

It is difficult not to regard it as a gratuitous insult that the impression should be given out that persons such as Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker; George Willoughby, a Friend and director of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors; Alfred Hassler, head of the literature department of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Lyle Tatum, a member of the staff of the American Friends Service Committee; Roy Finch and Bayard Rustin, of the War Resisters League; Dr. Stringfellow Barr; and Bernard Rosenberg would be participants in anything which involved "handpicking." They are all persons known for their integrity and independence of character. May I in particular call your attention to the fact that Mr. Rosenberg, one of the editors of *Dissent* magazine, who was "picked" in exactly the same way as everyone else, not only did not join in the Statement of Eight Observers, but made his own declaration, critical of my position, in a letter to the New York *Post*, something which he had every right to do.

The Smith Act Petition

Probably the most deplorable and ominous feature of your statement is that an office-holder of your standing and prestige should inferentially attach the label of "fronting" for Communists to the nearly fifty distinguished Americans, known for their opposition to Communism, who in 1955 signed a petition relating to Communists convicted under the Smith Act. This means attaching this label to

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, the dean of Union Theological Seminary, the dean of the Chapel at Columbia University, the dean of the Boston University School of Theology and others listed in the brochure enclosed herewith. I hope you will note carefully the contents of the petition, including the dissenting opinions of distinguished Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, on which the petition was largely based.

Any citizen is, of course, entitled to criticize the signers of such a petition, but labeling them as "fronters" because they exercise their right to petition is not legitimate criticism. For an officer of the Department of Justice in any way to call in question the right to petition, not to speak of labeling those who exercise it as "fronters," seems to me a violation of trust and the kind of action which gravely jeopardizes our democratic institutions.

The Function of the Director of the F.B.I.

This leads me, without any animosity toward you personally, Mr. Hoover, to raise two questions. In the first place, I am under the impression that according to your own statements it is the function of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to gather information, not to deliver judgments or to attempt to "give the party line," so to speak, to Congressional Committees or the general public. Have you not in this instance departed from this policy?

In the next place, if a person in your position is to speak at all in such matters, should he not refrain from stigmatizing individuals who are not on trial, who have not even been charged with any violation of law, and who obviously have no such access to channels of publicity as you have? It is my impression that in recent years, as the result of the reaction of countless citizens against the excesses and atrocities of McCarthyism, Congressional investigating committees have been at some pains not to give out names of citizens who were questioned, at least until there was some basis for legal charges against them. To what pass have we come if a single individual—and he the head of the F.B.I., presumably charged in a special and delicate manner with the protection of citizens against attack and the defense of our liberties—can make charges against an individual in the casual manner that you have used in this case?

I raise this question not, except in a very minor degree, on my own behalf. I do have some means of publicity and a long public record of being open and above board in what I do, whatever views people may hold as to my behavior. Moreover, I have the inward protection of knowing that in what I have done and said in these matters I have acted in accordance with the Christian faith and teaching which I profess. We are taught in the Scriptures of that faith that it is the business of those who have influence or power to be specially considerate of the weak and to "take care not to offend one of these little ones." There are, alas, a good many people in this country who have little if any means to defend themselves who have been injured, materially and spiritually, by those who have power and prestige.

It is necessary to add one final word about a matter which may come up in subsequent discussion. During the past year and a half I

have been somewhat prominently involved in the process of promoting untrammeled political discussion from which no tendencies, including Communist spokesmen, are excluded. Sometimes these discussions have been under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation when they have served a clear civil liberties purpose, sometimes not. I think that in insisting that all views should be publicly heard I am true to one of the most basic of American traditions. I think that in insisting on the other hand, as I have done, that Communists should publicly face their severest critics and try to answer them, that they must not try to evade the public discussion of any issue, I am far from "fronting" for them. To this day I have maintained my position of not engaging in "united action" with Communists, except in this strictly limited sense of arranging for the frank and serious discussion by spokesmen of all political tendencies of all important political questions. I recognize, of course, the right of any citizen to criticize this procedure, but I am personally convinced that this is a service to truth and to the cause of freedom which is sorely beset in many parts of the world today.

I hope that I may hear from you. If you should have time to discuss these matters with me on a personal basis, I should appreciate it. I should perhaps make it clear that I am conscientiously opposed to responding to summons to appear before any government official or agency engaged in investigating the political or religious opinions of myself or others.

Sincerely yours,
A. J. MUSTE

Age of Penalty

I am told that students today are a generally quiet lot, not much given to extracurricular opinion or activity. Strictly non-joiners. Play it safe, get your grades, and get out. If this is true—and some evidence supports the belief—there is good reason. The poet Auden calls our era The Age of Anxiety; we could give to it an additional title, The Age of Penalty. All around him the student sees the penalty of youthful association, of political error, or misguided investigation, penalty even of certain friendships. Is it any wonder that he has lost some trust in the traditional freedom to inquire?

—Norman Rosten
in "Nocturne," Spring, 1957, Issue,
Brooklyn College School of General Studies

OUR PEACE-MINDED politicos

BY WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

"IF YOU'RE so eager to change the world, why don't you get into politics and *do* something about it?"

These words, or variations thereof, are a familiar challenge to the generally small-scale, local and personal approach of the typical American pacifist of today. Few pacifists, however, and still fewer of their critics, are aware of the extent to which peace-minded people have taken their convictions to the stump, or the number of nonpacifists who have spoken against war in the political arena on a more-than-platitudinous level.

Only last year, a pacifist ran for President of the United States. With his less than 3,000 votes, Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Pennsylvania, scored a record low for the Socialist Party ticket's showing. Once upon a time, though, Hoopes sat in the Pennsylvania state legislature as a Socialist member. He has been a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation since 1929.

That doesn't sound much like progress, and is hardly a recommendation to would-be pacifist politicos. Things get better, however, so read on. Norman Thomas, who was trounced six times in his campaigns for President, was executive secretary of the FOR from 1917 to 1919. Although he would not have considered himself a 100 per cent pacifist in 1929, he was still close enough to attract pacifist sympathies, and he racked up some 150,000 votes in the New York mayoralty race that year—the high-water mark of his long career as a Socialist Party vote-seeker.

Anyone who might object that the New York City vote for Thomas was 20 times the national membership of the FOR may be interested to know that in 1936 a sampling of FOR members revealed that 49.5% chose Thomas, as against 29.8% for Roosevelt and 18.2% for Landon. That is several million votes short of election, and the nonpacifists didn't take up much of the slack.

Getting licked would seem to be part of the definition of the peace-minded politico. But not always. During World War I, forceful op-

position to American intervention was expressed by Victor Berger, Socialist Congressman from Wisconsin, and by Senator Robert M. Lafollette of the same state, who later received four million votes as Progressive candidate for the presidency.

You don't have to go back that far. Peppery Jeanette Rankin, U. S. Representative from Montana, cast her vote against World War II right down to the wire, at a time when literally all the other congressmen were getting on the bandwagon to "avenge Pearl Harbor." Mary Shadow Hill, a long-time member of the FOR, was for many years a champion of peace in the Tennessee legislature. Francis Worley, a Quaker who registered as a conscientious objector in Word War II, is now in his seventh term as a member of the Pennsylvania legislature. Last year he received more military ballots than any other local candidate—a fact that pacifist politicos may well ponder when they wonder where their next vote is coming from.

Peace Is Nonpartisan

The Socialists have no monopoly on politicians for peace. Worley, for example, is a Republican. They don't have any monopoly on losing, either, as Bernard O'Shea discovered when he raised the Democratic banner in perennially Republican Vermont, where he ran for the United States Senate last year. O'Shea, an FOR member and editor of the Swanton (Vt.) *Courier*, expected defeat. He was up against the Republican Party's strongest Vermont vote-getter in the 104th year of that party's 104-year victory procession there.

Although O'Shea upset no applecarts, he managed to jostle a few apples his way: he polled over one-third of the vote, and ran 25% ahead of presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson. "This," says O'Shea, "was probably due in part to our personalized campaign. While many voters seemed to resent Stevenson on the H-bomb and draft issues, they seemed to understand a little better the same ideas explained on home ground, so to speak. . . . And I went further than he did in some respects."

Byron Johnson, a member of the FOR National Council, has had it both ways. Defeated the first time he ran for public office, he was the only Democrat elected to office in Arapahoe County when he won a seat in the Colorado state legislature.

An ardent cooperator, Johnson is widely known as a founder and first president of Denver's Mile-High Housing Association. An active Congregationalist, he was a delegate and speaker at the Pittsburgh conference of the National Council of Churches last year. In addition to these and other concerns, Johnson manages to find time also for his regular job as professor of economics and government at the University of Denver.

Last year Johnson made his first campaign for Congress. One of his four major platform planks was: "To wage peace, by use of the weapons of friendship and good will, so that America would earn and retain the name of Good Neighbor throughout the world. Such a neighbor would refrain from unwarranted interference in domestic affairs, would give help when needed, and would treat others as equals."

That is pretty strong pacifist talk to take to the voters. Johnson contends that it might have helped him

to win handily, but for the eleventh-hour swing of not a few panicky voters to the Eisenhower ticket when the Suez crisis exploded. "Had it come earlier or later," said Johnson, "I might have had a horse race."

An unpopular viewpoint or conviction has often provided the opponents of pacifist politicos with a made-to-order shibboleth overshadowing the immediate issues at stake in a campaign, and the blood-and-guts type of super-patriot is hard to answer in the level-headed manner that characterizes pacifist speakers. But last year, Johnson was able to say, "It was a clean,

pleasant campaign." A genial and politically durable young man (38), Colorado politics has not seen the last of Byron Johnson.

Can Politics Deliver?

Many pacifists nowadays take a dim view of political action, arguing that politics, unless of a utopian sort, inevitably involves compromises which deflect good intentions from the straight and narrow. Some take the similarly pessimistic view that politics is an illusory shortcut which can promise but not deliver the achievement of pacifist goals.

"All of us," says Bernard O'Shea, "must order our individual lives before we can even begin the much vaster job of ordering our common lives towards human creativity and peace.

"Both of course develop together, from within and without ourselves. They are not separate, just as none of us are separate from each other. The aware man cannot avoid politics today and the creative man must take part in politics.

"The decision to run in elective politics, however, comes hard because it is difficult and so demanding. I suggest that it be made without any ambition for self, and only in the spirit of service. Then no one can hurt you, and you may even do some good. For people running for local offices that do not directly touch the large issues of the power state and the international anarchy of the twentieth century, the problems are perhaps not as acute as for a candidate to a federal office.

"I trust that one day we will have many believers in nonviolence sitting in responsible seats in Washington, the United Nations, and wherever will be the future capital of world government."

In response to such a view as this, it may be said that "it won't work," but on the other hand, just as a pacifist pastor can act as a leaven in the loaf of the Church, so can the politico make his witness among the lawmakers. Surely, for those who have got the political bug, there is no harm in trying. The world could do a lot worse than to elect a whole raft of pacifists to high office. Come to think of it, the world *has* done a good deal worse up to now.

An Appeal to Mankind

ON THE DANGER OF CONTINUING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS

BY ALBERT SCHWEITZER

This is an abridged text of a letter sent by Dr. Schweitzer to the Norwegian Nobel Committee. On April 23 the appeal was broadcast in fifty countries, including Kenya and Japan. No U.S. network, however, was able to spare the time, and U.S. press coverage of it has been spotty.

SINCE MARCH 1, 1954, hydrogen bombs have been tested, by the Americans at the Pacific island of Bikini in the Marshall Group and by the Russians in Siberia.

In the course of the three and a half years that have passed since then, representatives of the physical and medical sciences have been studying the problem. The material collected, although far from complete, allows us to draw the conclusion that radiation resulting from the explosions which have already taken place represents a danger to the human race, a danger not to be underrated, and that further explosions of atomic bombs will increase this danger to an alarming extent.

Consequences of Tests

Following the explosions at Bikini and in Siberia, rain falling over Japan has, from time to time, been so radioactive that the water from it cannot be drunk. And not only there; reports of radioactive rainfall are coming from all parts of the world where analyses have recently been made. In several places, the water has proved to be so radioactive that it was unfit for drinking.

Wherever radioactive rainwater is found, the soil is also radioactive —and in a higher degree. The soil is made more radioactive not only by the downpour, but also from radioactive dust falling on it. And with the soil the vegetation will also have become radioactive.

Far-Flung Damage

What this storing of radioactive material implies is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, at one occasion, the radioactivity of the Columbia River in North America was analyzed. The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce atomic energy for industrial purposes, and which empty their waste water into the river.

The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating the plankton 40,000

times higher, that of the fish 150,000 times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river, the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1,000,000 times higher.

From official and unofficial sources we have been assured, time and time again, that the increase in radioactivity of the air does not exceed the amount which the human body can tolerate without any harmful effects. This is just evading the problem.

None of the radioactivity of the air, brought into existence by the exploding of atom bombs, is so unimportant that it may not, in the long run, become a danger to us through increasing the amount of radioactivity stored in our bodies.

What are the diseases caused by internal radiation? The same diseases that are known to be caused by external radiation. They are mainly serious blood diseases. If the cells in the bone marrow are damaged by radiation they will produce too few or abnormal, degenerating blood corpuscles. Both cases lead to blood diseases and, most often, to death. These are the diseases that have killed the victims of X-rays and radium rays.

It was one of these diseases that attacked the Japanese fishermen who were surprised in their vessel by radioactive ashes falling down 240 miles from Bikini after the explosion of a hydrogen bomb. With one exception, they were all saved, being strong and relatively mildly affected, through continuous blood transfusions.

Disaster for Posterity

In the cases cited, the radiation came from the outside. It is unfortunately very probable that internal radiation affecting the bone marrow and lasting for years will have the same effect, particularly since the radiation goes from the bone tissue to the bone marrow.

Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants. The fact is that the cells of the reproductive organs are particularly vulnerable to radiation. To the profound damage of these cells corresponds a profound damage to our descendants.

We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance.

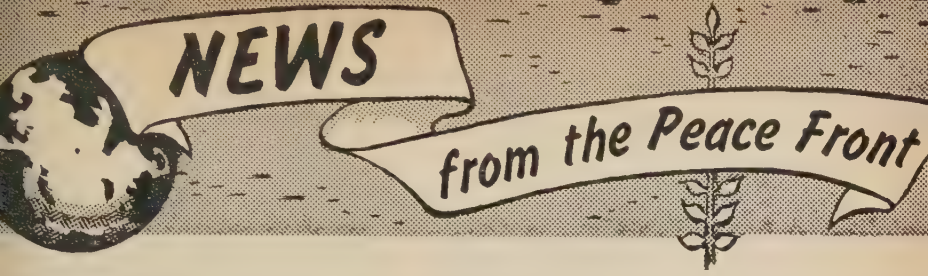
There can be no question of doing anything else, if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants.

The Most Terrible Peril

They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger.

That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature is an astounding event in the history of the earth. And of the human race. To fail to consider its importance and its consequences would be a folly for which humanity would have to pay a terrible price. When public opinion has been created in the countries concerned and among all nations, an opinion informed of the dangers involved in going on with the tests and led by the reason which this information imposes, then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments.

The end of further experiments with atom bombs would be like the early sun rays of hope which suffering humanity is longing for.



Council Hears Reports, Elects Officers, Votes New Projects

Twenty-six non-staff members of the FOR National Council wrestled with a heavy agenda from Thursday evening until past Saturday noon at the Council's spring meetings, April 25-27, at the new peace center in Nyack, New York.

Key decisions were approval of a year's leave of absence for Executive Secretary John M. Swomley Jr., and authorization of a major program aimed at ending the testing and manufacture of H-bombs.

Swomley and H-Bombs

A recommendation by the personnel committee that a "sabbatical year" be granted John Swomley beginning September 1 was approved without dissent. The leave is for the purpose of rest and study, with the FOR paying $1200 in salary and seeking additional funds elsewhere.

Until the leave begins, Swomley was asked to put a major amount of time into a staff-recommended program of protest against the further manufacture and testing of hydrogen bombs. The program was to include an international period of prayer on an agreed-upon date, support of the Japanese-sponsored project of sending protest ships to the Christmas Island testing grounds, and a delegation to the Japanese embassy in the United States.

It was also decided to attempt to recruit a three-man "team" of top clergymen from Britain, Germany and the United States, to carry protests to London, Washington and Moscow, and apologies to Japan. Plans for a demonstration in Las Vegas, Nevada, at the time of proposed American tests completed the project, in which the cooperation and support of other peace groups was to be sought.

For this purpose, Swomley made a flying visit to England and Germany last month on the very eve of the Christmas Island tests. On his return, as FELLOWSHIP went to press, he reported that the project appeared to be stymied in its present form, but other efforts will be made.

Pacifists and the FBI

After hearing reports of questionable use by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of material its agents have secured from pacifists and others, the Council adopted a minute urging great caution on both members and staff in dealing with FBI personnel. The Council recommended that pacifists decline to give information on the political views of persons being investigated, even though the information might be thought to be "favorable," except under courtroom procedures where the rights of the accused to confrontation and cross-examination were safeguarded.

Where staff members are asked for factual data concerning the membership of claimants for the conscientious objector position, the Council urged that such information be confined to facts of membership, that it be presented in writing, and that a copy be supplied to the individual concerned.

The South, Other Matters

The Council heard reports on the continuing work of staff members Glenn E. Smiley and Robert L. Cannon in the South, and of the organization of the FOR-sponsored Committee to Aid the Bombed Christians of the South, composed of ten eminent religious leaders.

"Minutes of appreciation" were approved for Midwest Secretary Paul Macy, whose retirement was effective April 30, and Mid-South Secretary Cannon, whose resignation is dated June 30.

Charles R. Lawrence, Brooklyn College sociologist, was reelected national chairman. Vice-chairmen elected were Allan A. Hunter, Robert Moon, Claud D. Nelson, John Oliver Nelson and Emily Parker Simon. Forest Ashbrook succeeded S. F. Boden as treasurer, and Joseph Rohrer was elected assistant treasurer. All present staff members were reelected.

Members, Friends Dedicate New FOR Peace Center

Meetings of the FOR National Council were interrupted on Friday, April 26, for a service of dedication for the new peace center where the meetings were held. About a hundred people comfortably filled the center's small chapel to hear an address by Douglas V. Steere, Quaker professor at Haverford College and chairman of the American Committee of the International FOR.

Professor Steere spoke of the need for a "Yes . . . No . . . Yes" religion. The first "Yes" he described as the saying of "Yes" to God, and a commitment of the self to His will. This, he said, was the level of most churches and Christians.

A higher level he called the "No that grows out of the Yes." This, he said, is the level of most pacifists: a "thundering No" to killing and to other forms of evil, made necessary by the first "Yes."

The final "Yes" is the third stage of a "creative religion" that finds positive ways of dealing with the problems whose old, violent solutions had been rejected in the "No" stage. This aspect of religious faith leads into uncharted and unexplored territory, he said, but it is the level to which pacifists should aspire.

National Chairman Charles R. Lawrence presided at the service. Former chairman John Oliver Nelson led a special litany written for the occasion by the Rev. Paul Franklin Hudson, minister of the Pleasant Hill Community Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh.

Former national secretaries A. J. Muste and John Nevin Sayre told of the early days of the Fellowship, and Executive Secretary John Swomley spoke of present activities and future plans.

Mrs. Lee Stern, wife of the custodian of the new peace center, and Mrs. Robert Gussner, wife of the New England regional secretary, sang Mendelssohn's "I Waited for the Lord."

On the following day an Open House was held, at which some 250 FOR members and local residents

consumed prodigious quantities of cakes, cookies and assorted other refreshments, renewed old acquaintances and made new ones.

In the afternoon, many of the visitors abandoned the spacious rear lawn overlooking the Hudson to view a series of films, including *The Toymaker,* an engaging color movie about intolerance, with particular appeal for children; *Walk to Freedom;* André Trocmé's *The Way of Nonviolence;* and Martin Niemöller's *Blessed Are the Peacemakers.*

Pacific Coast FOR Secretary Wilson C. Riles provided an unscheduled treat by showing a series of color slides which he took last year on a tour of the USSR. Although Riles' comments afforded little comfort to Communism, the experience of seeing the faces of so many ordinary Russian people and their surroundings gave strong emphasis to the common humanity of the "enemy" in a sense too often avoided in abstract discussions. In the words of one observer, "It was good to be reminded that there are people over there, not just 'isms.'"

18 Top German Scientists Refuse to Work on A-Bombs

On April 12 in Göttingen, West Germany, eighteen leading nuclear scientists, four of them Nobel Prize winners, issued a statement in which they refused to participate in the production, testing or use of atomic weapons. Among the eighteen was Nobel Prizewinner Prof. Otto Hahn, the first physicist to split the atom, who pointed out that the issue was for him a matter of conscience since, as a pioneer in atomic research, he felt some responsibility for the hideous bombing of Hiroshima.

Prof. Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, acting as spokesman for the group, said he considered it highly problematic that peace and freedom could be defended by the new weapons of destruction. "We do not believe we can escape the responsibility that our profession places upon us in relation to political questions."

The response of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was the all-too-familiar insistence on the need for "deterrent" weapons. With a general election coming up on September 6, the Social-Democratic opposition had a ready-made campaign issue, and its leader, Erich Ollenhauer, lost no time congratulating the scientists on their statement and assailing Adenauer for his "lack of respect for [their] independent opinion."

In another sector of German life, meanwhile, the government had another problem. According to World Around Press correspondent Henry Holm, approximately one thousand young men have registered as conscientious objectors, and many others have obtained one- or two-year deferments in the expectation that the Social Democrats will win the elections and abolish conscription. Another 1200-1500 draft-age West Germans, says Holm, have migrated to Communist East Germany, lured by the fact that East Germany does not have conscription.

U.S. Military Lands Near Size of Ohio

Withdrawals of United States public lands for use as military reservations has increased the size of the latter ten times in the past twenty years, according to recent

testimony in the U.S. House of Representatives. The present area of such lands is 30,000,000 acres; pending applications would bring the total to 40 million acres—approximately the size of Ohio.

The House has passed a bill providing that withdrawals of more than 5000 acres must be authorized by Act of Congress. Ninety percent of current applications are for areas in excess of that size.

Australians Note Trend Against Nuclear Tests

As FELLOWSHIP went to press last month, many currents of opposition to nuclear tests were rising. Among them, a noted Australian radio commentator stated: "If a referendum were taken in Australia, a very large proportion would vote for immediate cessation of military experiments." He noted that Australians, not usually prone to panic, are near it on this issue.

In Boston on April 23, Dr. Alan Walker, a visiting Methodist evangelist from Australia, said: "A Christian conscience demands that hydrogen tests be stopped now," and urged that the West take the initiative.

In London an Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War was formed to send volunteers to the Christmas Island area of the Pacific in protest against British H-bomb tests which were held there last month, and a rally was held in Trafalgar Square.

In the United States, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends sent a message to President Eisenhower on April 8 urging the unilateral abandonment of "tests and use of all weapons of mass destruction."

Trocme to Tour U.S. in Fall

André Trocmé, traveling secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and a frequent contributor to FELLOWSHIP, will tour the United States from September 25 to December 31, visiting twenty-one states. Known for his work as a reconciler in the current Franco-Algerian war, the French nonviolent resistance leader is already booked for lecturing and preaching engagements at Yale, Harvard, the University of Chicago, Union College, Haverford, Macalester College, the Community Church of New York and elsewhere.

A few vacancies still existed in Trocmé's itinerary as FELLOWSHIP went to press. Persons desiring further details should write to John Nevin Sayre, IFOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Second BPF Tour To Start July 10

The second of two Baptist Pacifist Fellowship peace tours to Europe is scheduled to begin on July 10. Led by noted FOR member Kirby Page and BPF Secretary William M. Hammond, the 30-day tour will visit pacifist centers at Versailles, Berlin and Freundschaftsheim for seminars with such leading European pacifists as André Trocmé, Philippe Vernier, Wilhelm Mensching and Martin Niemöller. Arranged on an all-expense basis, including trans-Atlantic air travel, a subsidy has been provided to lower the cost to individual tour members from $1200 to $899. As FELLOWSHIP went to press, there were still a few vacancies for the July 10 tour.

Thirty World Leaders Ask Death Penalty Ban

Thirty distinguished individuals have issued a Manifesto for the International Abolition of Capital Punishment, calling upon "all men and women of good will to support a world-wide campaign" to end this "cruel survival of primitive ages." Among the signers are Martin Buber, Victor Gollancz, Karl Menninger, Eleanor Roosevelt and Bertrand Russell. A number of others are FOR members, including Vera Brittain, Harold N. Geistweit, Kathleen Lonsdale, Martin Niemöller, Reginald W. Sorensen and Johannes Ude.

In two states of the United States, growing concern over this issue was voiced. In California, Governor Goodwin Knight said recently that he would welcome abolition of the death penalty. The governor's view was seconded by the warden of San Quentin, the state's largest prison. In Massachusetts, the House gave initial approval to a bill providing for a referendum to be held in 1958 on whether to abolish capital punishment, but killed a companion measure permitting a five-year moratorium on the death penalty.

North-South Students In Exchange Series

A long-range program of student and faculty exchanges between Northern and Southern colleges was begun in recent months with the help of Great Lakes Regional FOR Secretary Ellamae Calvert and National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley, and plans have been laid for programs extending into next year.

At Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio, March 1-4, Knoxville (Tenn.) College Prof. Robert Delk and five Knoxville students were guests at a folk festival. Last month a Wilmington student group attended Founder's Day exercises at Knoxville. Prof. Delk is an FOR member, as is Wilmington President Samuel D. Marble. Knoxville College is an all-Negro school.

Next month, Dr. Arthur Munk, an FOR member who is on the faculty of Albion College, Albion, Michigan, is scheduled to lecture on the philosophy of education at Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina. Dean L. L. Haynes of Claflin will lecture at Albion in February 1958, and meantime a one-week exchange of three students is planned. Claflin has for some months been the site of a number of workshops in nonviolence. Situated as it is in the heart of one of the South's most conflict-ridden areas, the all-Negro school is a most appropriate place for such an exchange. In another context, news about Claflin College prompted FOR member John Brelsford of Terre Hill, Pennsylvania, to donate a truck to the school.

Other exchange programs have been set up between Northwestern University and Alabama State College, and between Ohio Wesleyan and Bennett College, and still more are to be arranged.

Macy to Teach At Bethany Seminary

Paul G. Macy, recently retired Midwest Regional FOR Secretary, has been named Visiting Professor of Ecumenical Studies at Bethany Biblical Seminary in Chicago. He will begin teaching at the Church of the Brethren theological school next fall.

Episcopal Churchmen Back South African Bishops

In New York last month, the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa cabled Dr. Richard Ambrose Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, supporting the stand of the Bishops of South Africa who are fighting a law that would ban interracial worship. Bishop Reeves has called the law "an affront to the Christian conscience" and one of the "most monstrous pieces of legislation ever debated in parliament."

ACLU to Appeal California Church Loyalty Oath Law

Lawrence Speiser, ACLU attorney, announced in San Francisco on April 26 that a 4-3 state supreme court decision upholding loyalty oaths for churches as a condition for tax exemption would be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. Four churches had challenged the constitutionality of the law, which requires applicants for tax exemption to swear that they do not advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence.

United Church Women Urge Fight on Unfair Investigations

The Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Chicago last month, has called upon Protestant women throughout the country to press for reform of "unfair" congressional investigation committee practices, and to fight without fear bad housing, poor schools and discrimination "in a Christian way, by the power of love and concern." United Church Women, a general department of the National Council of Churches, is organized in more local communities than any other ecumenical group.

Grass-Roots Anti-Bias Stand May Swing Denomination

The staunch anti-segregation stand of a small country church in Terra Ceia, North Carolina, where local inhabitants tried to draw a color line against the Indonesian wife of a Dutch immigrant, led last month to the framing of a strong resolution against segregation by the Hackensack, New Jersey, classis of the Christian Reformed Church. The Hackensack classis will present the resolution to the Synod when it meets this month in Grand Rapids, Michigan, as a general guide to all churches in the denomination. The Hackensack group confident that the resolution was reported would be adopted.

Negroes Named Are "Firsts" In Important Church Posts

Two Negro ministers were named last month to fill important church posts. In New York, the Rev. Dr. Frank T. Wilson, dean of the Howard University School of Religion, was appointed education secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. In Washington, D. C., the Rev. Arthur F. Elmes of People's Congregational Church was elected president of the Washington Ministerial Union. Neither position has previously been held by a Negro—in fact, Negroes were barred from the Washington group until only 15 years ago.

The Role of Faith

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the April FELLOWSHIP, Lauree Hersch argues that for the true Christian, "regardless of the practicality of the situation, the motivation for each act is that this is the Will of God." Further, "The Christian does the thing which is God's will, without regard to the results." Miss Hersch claims that those who do good because it has good results, worship self rather than God.

I think this line of reasoning, which many people follow, is based on a misunderstanding of both the teaching of Jesus and the role of faith in religion.

In the first place, there is no definitive "Will of God" for "each act of a Christian." 90 percent of our day-to-day life is made up of choices which must be made according to our *interpretation* of what is best. Even in areas stressed by Jesus, "true Christians" disagree as to exactly what is the Will of God. It is the person who is so all-fire certain that he knows the Will of God who is really setting himself up as God.

Secondly, Jesus himself repudiated the doctrine of doing anything "without regard to the results." Again and again, Jesus emphasized that the test of a man was in the results of his actions: "by their fruits ye shall know them." It is fortunate that Christians have this rule-of-thumb, because many, many people have done grievous wrongs in the name of the Will of God, and only the evil results could bring them to their senses. No Christian pacifist would remain Christian or pacifist for very long if the result of following the Will of God were seen to be evil. Thus again we see that the results are the deciding factor.

Finally, faith was never intended by Jesus to replace clear thinking. Faith covers "unknowables." Jesus suggested general principles for living, from which each person must build his own pattern of life. No one can know whether his life follows the Will of God except by evaluating the results of his acts.

ARTHUR HARVEY
England

Faulty Definition

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

What kind of pacifism is Benjamin Miller defining? ". . . an application of force which denies a person's mere whims or irrational desires or vicious designs cannot necessarily be called injurious to that person" and, says Mr. Miller, pacifists will not object to it.

How many idealists went to war in order, as they thought, to frustrate the whims and irrational desires of Hitler and the Nazis? Apparently Mr. Miller is trying to show that his pacifism does not lead all the way to anarchism, but permits police power. But his point is not clearly made, and cannot be without going into distinctions which he neglects. He has set out to define the terms of pacifism, but has failed to consider the important differences between relations involving individuals, those of voluntary groups (*e.g.*, the Montgomery boycott),

and those of the nation-state, which has the power to commit all its members to organized violence.

I was so pleased to see a non-theological discussion of pacifism in FELLOWSHIP, and find it regrettable that it turned out to be so fuzzy-minded in this particular respect.

FRANCES ROSE RANSOM
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FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: (temporarily vacant); *Pacific Coast:* Wilson Riles, 1205 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles C. Walker, Cheyney, Penna.; *New England:* Robert Gussner, 10 Kirkland Rd., Cambridge, Mass.; *Great Lakes:* Ellamae Calvert, 1555 Elbur, Cleveland 7, Ohio; *National Field Secretary:* Glenn E. Smiley, FOR, Nyack, N. Y.

ALL ABOARD!

DEPENDING on where you live, your regional or area conference is: 1) About to happen or 2) Looming on the near horizon. If you live in the Midwest, in Missouri, Kansas or Colorado, we hope you have already made your reservations, for your conference is set for very soon. Better whip out the old calendar and check these dates:

June 27—*Pittsburgh* June 28—*Evansville, Indiana*
June 29-30—*St. Louis, Mo.* July 1—*Kansas City, Mo.*
July 2—*Wichita, Kansas* July 3—*Denver, Colorado*

These conferences will feature both Glenn E. Smiley and John M. Swomley, Jr.

If you live elsewhere in the United States, you may have as long as a month to wait for your conference. Before you start waiting, however, wouldn't it make life easier if you knew you had your reservation all shipshape in advance? You folks on the Pacific Coast, in Nebraska and the Great Lakes, that is. Check these dates. *John Swomley*'s itinerary is as follows: July 9—*Los Angeles;* July 10—*Modesto, Cal.;* July 11— *San José, Cal.;* July 12—*East Bay Area;* July 13-14—*Seattle.* Roughly the same dates but different places for *Glenn Smiley:* July 6—*Lincoln, Nebraska;* July 11—*Madison, Wisconsin;* July 12—*Detroit.*

The *Cleveland, Philadelphia* and *Southern* conferences are still in the works for August and September and will be announced in due course. For Further details about any conference, write to your regional secretary or to National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley at the National Office.

Our Most Precious Trust

Many people have never heard of the Fellowship of Reconciliation or, if they have, pay little attention to its principal concerns. It is undramatic, unsensational, seldom in the headlines. On many issues that are dear to the Fellowship's heart, it is some other organization that makes news.

Yet it is seldom the case that the FOR is beaten out by competition, for often it turns out that the FOR had a major share in the founding of the newsmaking organization, either through the initiative of an individual member or as a result of the Fellowship's organized activities.

The most recent example is the Committee to Aid the Bombed Christians of the South, an FOR-administered group sponsored by ten leading Protestant clergymen. Perhaps you have already read about this Committee's work in helping to rebuild parsonages and homes wrecked by racist nightriders in Alabama, Georgia and Florida.

And you are no doubt aware of the FOR contribution to the founding of such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Workers Defense League, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Religion and Labor Foundation. Many of these groups now far exceed the FOR in membership, and the bulk of their members are not pacifists, but they fulfil important tasks in a way that the FOR itself could not.

Yet it is this role of mother and midwife to such organizations that illustrates our most precious trust and underscores the wide-ranging implications of Christian pacifism. If you are an FOR member, you can take pride in this trust. It is not a matter of laurels to rest on, but of a core of faith in which to find the answers to whatever challenge tomorrow may bring—of joining with all men of good will to reap the harvest of that faith.

If you are not yet a member, but feel that you share this faith, you are warmly invited to write for further information and a copy of *That Men May Live*, the FOR's Statement of Purpose.